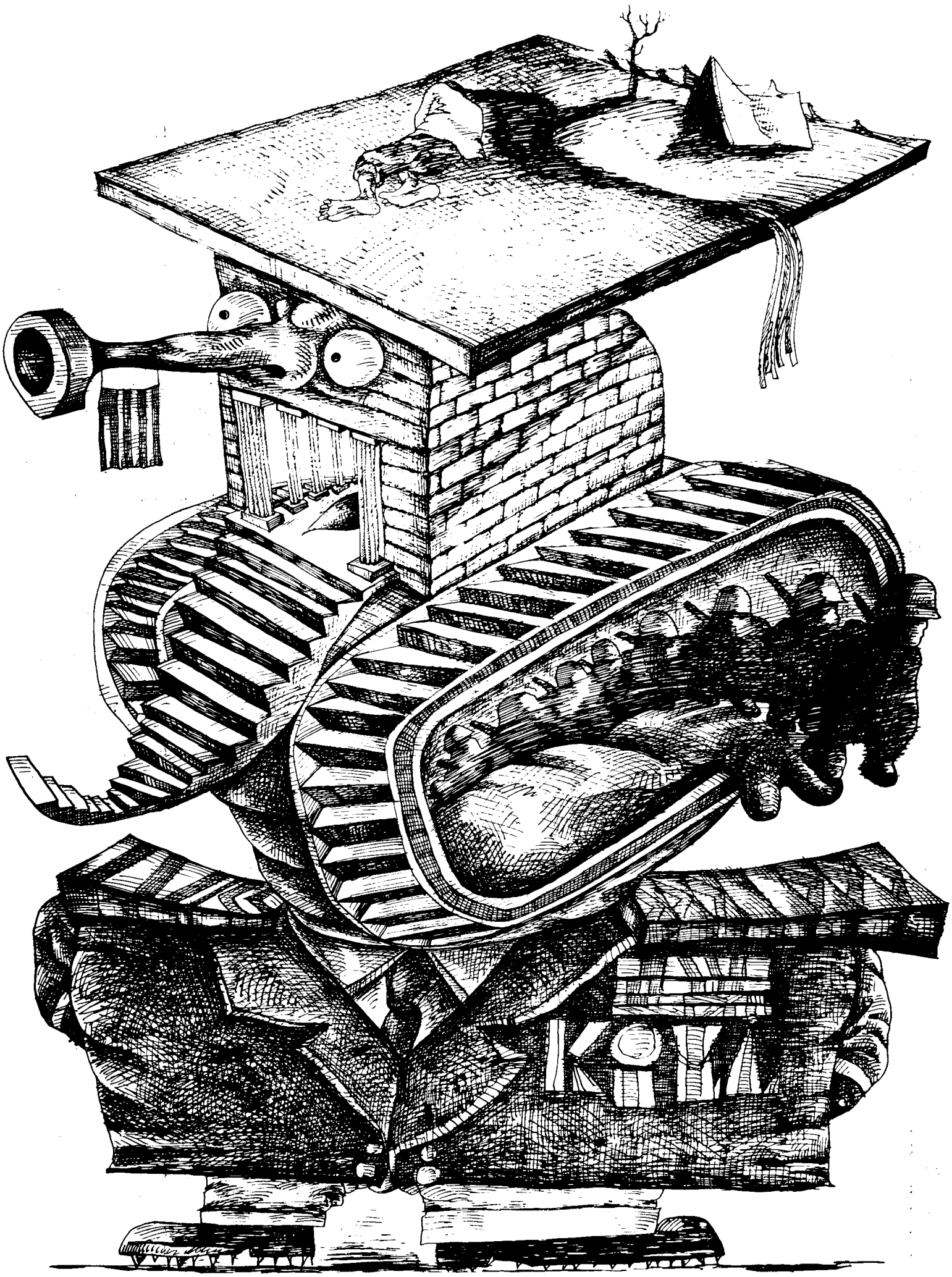

LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

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COVER: University Complicity
Credit Paul Spina/LNS.

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IN TRANSIT

Sally Lasselle, Thorne Dreyer, Victoria Smith

on American Imperialism?

"American economic aid literally saved Western Europe. In other parts of the world, where institutions and traditions are less suited to quick results, the results have nonetheless been impressive. A considerable number of relatively poor, unstable nations have been hoisted to the foot of the escalator-where their economies can begin to grow faster than their increases in population. Once this position has been achieved, there is no end to progress in sight."

Ex-President Johnson, in Choices we Face

PLEASE SEE CORRECTION BELOW

) We Thank You for Paying May Bills (

CORRECTION: In Mark Feinstein's story on the campus situation, the next to last paragraph on Page 18 should read: "But, the rub is that, in order to get those whites into the university, America had to sow across the land the dream of "making it" -- and while the dream worked to get a good supply of whites into the universities, it also worked on the poor."

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SAIGON WATERS DOWN THE CULTURE GAP

by Stephen Erhart

LIBERATION News Service

SAIGON (LNS)--Even while Hanoi was being bombed every day, it looked better in the pages of Life than Saigon did. Just before the bombing halt last October, the mayor of Saigon and his American advisors decided they should do something about it.

"We felt the people wanted something a little different," said the American engineer who is chief advisor to the public works department. "These people have known nothing but war for 26 years, and they want something a little bit different." He suggested a fountain.

The mayor liked the idea and asked the advisor to go ahead and design and build a fountain. The site they chose was the middle of the main traffic circle in Saigon, just across one plaza from the national assembly building, and across another plaza from city hall, and directly in front of the Rex Hotel--a six story air-conditioned building that serves as billets for high-ranking American officers.

Construction of the fountain proceeded at the slow rate customary in South Vietnam. As the months passed, the mayor sat watching from city hall and became obsessed with fountains. It is said that during a conference in Bangkok, he took to stealing out of meetings to look at fountains. The American advisors, who often take their meals at the officers' mess on the roof of the Rex, likewise grew a little crazed.

Staring down at the fountain abuild, everyone began to notice things they hadn't thought about before. Soon the fountain would be completed and the photographers from Life would be around. They would be getting things in their wide-angle lenses that would not help the city in its image contest with Hanoi.

There were all those pimps, money-changers, hawkers of dirty photos, beggars, opium pushers, pick-pockets and shoeshine boys, always hanging around in unkempt clothes, accosting passing Americans. Right across the street from the Rex other unbecomingly poor and disreputable people squatted on the sidewalk, offering for sale mountains of American PX goods stolen or illegally bought from GI's. Just a few blocks in any direction were the most unseemly people of all--homeless squatters, refugees, who had thrown up shacks of packing crates, roofing tin and canvas, right there on the sidewalks of downtown Saigon. All these creatures were like phantoms that had crawled out from another world into the glittering surface of Saigon's luxury hotel and shopping quarter, with its silk-suited biggies, miniskirted teenyboppers, Americans in dress uniform.

Sometime around the first of the year, a thing called the "Beautification Campaign" was launched. The stated aim of the program was to beautify all of Saigon, a city of some 15square kilometers. But so far, it has amounted to little more than removing the eyesores around city hall and the Rex.

Fences have been erected around the two plazas, and police have ordered the undesirables to loiter elsewhere. From time to time, police make a token arrest, usually one of the old women selling black market goods. It takes them the longest to make their getaways, even though they have reduced their stock to the contents of one cardboard carton apiece.

Although they are released the next day, the inconvenience has been enough to convince most of the down-and-outers to spend their time on other streets. But the police still drop by for payoffs to supplement their $40-a-month salaries, the homeless and jobless still manage to get by, and their customers can still find whatever they're looking for.

When they got most of the riffraff moved away from their doorstep, the mayor and his friends still were not satisfied. They decided there was still time, before the fountain was finished and the Life photographers started shooting, to paint city hall--so they got to work on that.

Meantime, RMK, the private American con-

struction monopoly in Vietnam, finished months of work at broadening Le Loi, the boulevard that runs past the Rex and through the fountain circle.

The boulevard, as fine as any American turnpike, now permits the traffic to crack along like lightning between the three stop lights. Young hoods drag race on Hondas, MP's in jeeps fishtail between lanes, three-wheeled Lambrettas vibrate along at speeds never before attained. At the end of the four-block strip, they all stall once again in the hopeless jam of everything from American two-and-a-half ton trucks to horse carts and hand-pushed soup wagons that are banned from the four-block superhighway.

The public works advisor had another beautification idea. Twenty-seven hundred shade trees that the French planted along the main streets of Saigon have died but still stand like harbingers of doom. Many observers say exhaust fumes are responsible for the untimely deaths in this, the only non-industrialized city in the world with a smog problem. But the Saigon Daily News, in a recent editorial, blamed the vast number of city dwellers who are still peasants at heart and have for years ignored city ordinances against urinating in the streets. Whatever the cause, the advisor got the public works crew to start cutting down trees. Starting at the fountain and working outward at the civil servant's pace, they have managed in several weeks of effort to cut down sixty-five.

Then there is the boulder project. The grounds of the American embassy used to be decorated with a number of nine-foot imported boulders. But during last year's Tet offensive, the NLF used the boulders as cover during their attack on the embassy. The ambassador offered the boulders to the mayor, who is having them dropped at key spots around the center of town.

Finally, early in April, the fountain was finished, and the local dignitaries and photographers turned out for a public ceremony. The mayor twisted a valve. Water surged up through the jets of the fountain, shot high into the air. The crowd cheered. The mayor beamed. At last. The jets spluttered, the spray subsided, the water trickled out of the jets and dribbled to the pool below. The crowd groaned, the mayor frowned, everybody drifted away. Something had gone wrong with the pump.

The public works advisor promised he would have a trial run before announcing the next ceremony. He whispered to his boss, the chief American advisor to the mayor, that he would have the trial run at nine o'clock Thursday night. The advisor passed the word to the mayor. Thursday night the mayor had dinner with some senator friends, had a few drinks, suggested they go have a look at the fountain. At nine o'clock everybody was there. The workmen were putting on the finishing touches. The public works advisor, who had had a few drinks himself, announced, "It'll work this time." He waved grandly over his shoulder, reached over backwards for the valve, stumbled, and fell into the pool.

But the fountain worked. And now on Saturday nights Saigon cowboys and their birds stop their Hondas in the middle of the four-block superhighway, middle-aged couples with their brood of children gather around the Hondas, and they all gaze at the fountain, at the dancing green and blue dazzled spray, and a traffic jam develops around the circle.

"That tells me what I need to know," says the public works advisor. "When the police have to be called out two Saturday nights in a row to break up a traffic jam, that tells me that these people were looking for something a little bit different. For twenty-six years these people have known nothing but war, but you give them a little culture and they eat it up."

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(LNS has had its first real honest to God NYC BENEFIT (the first one that didn't lose money) and we'd like to thank everybody who came and enjoyed it for their help. POWER TO THE PEOPLE!)

[Note: See photo in graphics section to accompany the following story.]

PRENSA LATINA IS TEN YEARS OLD

LIBERATION News Service

HAVANA (LNS) -- Prensa Latina, the Cuban international news agency, is celebrating its 10th anniversary.

The agency, which has been the object of constant attacks in many cities of the world, provides news for distribution in Cuba and to sympathetic publications in other countries.

Prensa Latina -- the logotype is 'PL' -- was founded on June 10, 1959, by an Argentine journalist, Jorge Ricardo Massetti, who had reported on the Cuban guerrilla struggle from the Sierra Maestra.

He returned to Cuba after the victory of the guerrilla army and founded Prensa Latina to "contribute to the unity of all countries of Latin America, under a banner of authentic justice, which is the common ideal of all the peoples of this hemisphere."

There was considerable interest in Prensa Latina's dispatches at first, but when the Cuban revolution became more solidified politically, the dispatches of the agency began to reflect the same "politics."

Prensa Latina developed a new language, combining news and analysis, carrying stories which were ignored or distorted by the U.S.-dominated establishment press in Latin America.

The criticisms came fast and heavy. At first, the "professional journalists" -- some of whom had supported Prensa Latina at first -- complained about "propaganda."

Of course, the press agency was not about to be divorced from its nation. In September, 1959, only a few months after Prensa Latina was founded, Massetti said:

"We know that as there are more attacks against the Cuban revolution--that is, against Latin America--there will be more difficulties for us to overcome."

Many Prensa Latina bureaus were closed, under a variety of pretexts: "for the stability of the nation," "to preserve democratic ideals," etc.

There has been a constant battle against this silence. Prensa Latina dispatches are smuggled out of most Latin American countries. The New York office of the agency, attacked by Cuban exiles, was forced to close and to seek refuge at the United Nations.

While North American reporters for the Associated Press, the United Press, and other establishment journalists travel freely throughout Cuba, no Cuban revolutionary journalist is free to travel to the United States. (The AP man at the UN is a U.S. citizen.)

Jorge Massetti, Prensa Latina's founder, returned to his native Argentina to take up arms against the military dictatorship. He died with an Argentina guerrilla band near the city of Salta in 1963.

Massetti, the entire staff of Prensa Latina, and for that matter, all revolutionary journalists throughout the world, don't distinguish between "profession" and "struggle."

Staff members of Prensa Latina, writing about the anniversary especially for LNS, said, "In front of the typewriter or gun in hand, in the city room or in the mountains, we are all combatants for the same ideals."

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ONE MORE STUDENT KILLED

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio (LNS) -- John C. Lobach, 21, is dead. A campus cop shot him on May 10. John had a girlfriend who lived in a dormitory, and went to see her when he wasn't supposed to. Somebody caught him climbing into the dorm. When he tried to escape, Chester Phillips, a campus policeman, shot "at his legs." The bullet hit him in the back and killed him.

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"STONE-AGE" NEW GUINEANS REVOLT AGAINST INDONESIAN DICTATORSHIP

LIBERATION News Service

DJAKARTA (LNS) -- Anthropologists consider the tribes of western New Guinea still to be living in the Stone Age. But being classed as "primitives" hasn't prevented them from rising in revolt against the totalitarian Indonesian government, or from striking a blow against U.S. imperialism.

On May 7, the rebels took over five airfields on the island of Batan Irian. The Indonesian government (which was responsible for the murder of more than 300,000 people suspected of supporting a communist uprising several years ago) sent in 500 parachutists to put down the Papual tribesmen.

The government action was necessitated when the local police force joined the rebels in their action.

The revolt began several months ago after the central government announced it was sponsoring a referendum aimed at "asserting the membership of the tribes in the Indonesian nation." The Papuans have other ideas about how they might relate to Indonesia.

The French paper Le Monde helped put it in context: "Let us recall that the region is economically important... An American company, the Sulfur Corporation, is investing heavily (in the area) in order to exploit its copper resources."

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KILLING COMPETITION

DAU TIENS, Vietnam (LNS) -- In a desperate move to save the dying morale of American troops in Vietnam, the Army has instigated a new type of incentive -- a "game" where you get points by killing "enemy" soldiers and lose points when you or a member of your platoon is killed.

The program was started by Lt. Colonel James T. Bradley, who said he thought it would prevent needless casualties among men who "just weren't being alert."

Under the competition, points were awarded to platoons for enemy troops killed, weapons captured and rice caches discovered. Points were deducted from platoons suffering battle casualties.

The winning rifle platoon gets three duty-free days in a rest center, and the winning weapons platoon two days.

It appears that the Army's idea has backfired; most of the men are insulted by the new game. The Associated Press quoted a letter home from an infantryman in which he said, "This contest has shown us what pawns we are. I wouldn't like to think that because one of my buddies gets killed, it only means we lost points."

In fact, there has been so much objection that Bradley has decided to drop the deduction of points for Americans killed. However, the game goes on.

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TORTURE IN GREECE

ATHENS (LNS) -- "They have tortured me! They smashed the door of my house and beat me up while I was in bed! My toenails still have pus from the torture!"

Ioannis Nikolopoulos, a 50-year-old mechanic, cried out in an Athens courtroom where he and others are being charged with sedition. The defendant disrupted the courtroom procedures when two Athens security officers were testifying--the same officers responsible for the torture.

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VICTORY AT COLUMBIA: ROTC ABOLISHED

NEW YORK (LNS) -- The Naval ROTC program at Columbia University will be phased out and eventually abolished, the trustees decided recently. Columbia officials denied that the action had anything to do with the last five years' agitation against ROTC. They said they had just decided that ROTC wasn't right for Columbia anymore.

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POOR LYNDON JOHNSON

"I came out of the hardscrabble country of central Texas, where everybody was poor."
-The Choices We Face, publ. 1969

[illegible] ONE

[illegible] building a park [illegible] without speeches [illegible] showed up for [illegible] and Haste in [illegible] anyone stop [illegible] somebody grabbed [illegible]."

[illegible] University of California [illegible] and tore down some of the most beautiful housing in Berkeley. A cement parking lot and dormitories were supposed to be built, but Ronald Reagan cut off the bread and the land just stayed there and turned into a swampy parking lot.

Now the university claims they are going to build a soccer field on the land by July. There is widespread community opposition to this move, and if the University attempts to Pearl Harbor the park the Berkeley Kong threatens reprisals.

There wasn't much advance notice for the creation of the People's Park--just an article in the Berkeley Barb by Robin Hood's Park Commissioner and a leaflet given out on Telegraph Avenue. For a week the Avenue merchants were panhandled. They were told of our plans and responded as modestly as a midwestern virgin her first time around. Some anonymous types kicked in about $700, and we were ready to go.

All sorts of straight and freaky people showed up at the Park. First the land was bulldozed, and then rocks and assorted shit were shovelled into barrels. The morning chill gave way to sweat as more creators kept pouring into what was becoming a Park.

A truck arrived with rolled up grass--that is, sod. We pulled the rolls off the truck and carried them over to a cluster of old and soon-to-be-exciting trees. The grass would be the first green, and after the land was watered the sod was put down.

When we were through, several hundred square yards had been put down and some people began to say that they had never noticed the trees until grass was rolled out under them.

Flower and vegetable gardens were planted around the trees. It was like a small universe of beauty being created at the roots of a giant one.

Nursery swings and a sliding board appeared and so did children to play on them. Old benches and some newly-made ones were fine for sitting down and for looking on with amazement at what was happening.

At some point in the early afternoon a Pig appeared. He wasn't sure if our Park was disturbing the peace. It looked like those guys liked what was going on but a lifetime of conditioning made it impossible for them to act it out.

A couple of baby trees were set down on the optimistic intuition that our children and ourselves would take shade from them grown to their fullest height and embrace.

The Black Panthers showed up and loved it. Bobby Seale kept laughing in total and happy amazement.

"Are you going to call it People's Park? Listen, we got to have some Panthers down here working."

As it grew late, the chill returned, but with it came rock music and a warming fire. People danced and celebrated, the weed was passed and an appropriate height of accomplishment was part of what we vibrated to.

Night came and people began splitting. The water vulture fire department showed up and put out our source of heat and warm food. A weird thing happened; some pigs tried to talk the fire fighters out of their little murder and praised our work. The waters came, people were pissed, and the Park's first day was over.

People were happy. The sense of victory of having eliminated something ugly, of just doing something that was uncompromising and truthful, was a very powerful trip. A few madmen hallucinated a Park and by the darkness it was really there - even for the most pessimistic eye.

In the last several weeks the park has continued to happen. Two cats showed up and planted a Corn Patch, a few new trees sprung up, and we

sat on new benches. It was still beyond our belief.

Free food was served without announcement, while orange-robed Hare Krishna singers sat and chanted. People wrote poetry and some guy tried to play folk guitar.

The People's Park is an example of soulful socialism, the kind you can't get on page 400 of any dry textbook. It looks like the academic pigs will try to destroy it. We, the people of the Park, are ready to defend it.

In the People's Park I have enjoyed working for the first time in my life. I think lots of people have had that experience. Ever since I was 18, I hated every job I had and either quit or was fired. But this is something different. With aching back and sweat on my brow, there are no bosses. We are creating our own desires. We work like mad men and we love it.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE'S PARK.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

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"BIG MAMA" THORTON AND THE HOLDING COMPANY

By TPL
LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK (LNS)--Tuesday night at Ungano's Discotheque, located just west of Amsterdam Avenue at 70th Street--the atmosphere: dark; the clientele: negligible. Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton, who headed the bill, relaxed in the back room between sets as the hard throb of records splayed out across the empty dance floor. One of the truly all-time great blues artists, with a powerful, emotive and oh-so-sensitive voice that transcends those of both the classical female blues giants such as Bessie Smith and many of the traditionally-styled male bluesmen, Big Mama even now has received scant attention for her dynamic performances here and in Europe. Singing blues ever since she was 15 (when she left her Alabama home to tour with the Hot Harlem Review out of Atlanta, Georgia), her first recordings were not made until 1953, in Houston. Referring to her current schedule, she told me that, "this is the first time I've been over this way in a year and a half. I work mostly on the West Coast." (She presently lives in L.A.)

Typically for the black artist, a degree of reknown has come indirectly from a white superstar--in this case from Janis Joplin, who recorded "Ball and Chain," one of Big Mama's two biggest sellers (the other is "Wade in the Water").

"Janis is real nice," Big Mama concedes. "She always like me and I like her singing, too." No one denies that Janis poured her Southern-Comfort lubricated heart out on Big Mama's tunes. But there is a lesson in why the main inspiration for Janis' vocal style didn't pull a good house, albeit a Tuesday night. (Midweek and weekend attendance was better, but, according to Nick Ungano, "We didn't draw big with her.") Big Mama, after all, doesn't claim to know about the record business and a slew of exploitative contracts have taken full advantage. "Don't ask me how the business works," she cautioned. "I'd like to know that myself; when I figure it out, I'll let you know."

Big Mam's current road manager, a warm, young white Arkansan named Ron Wyler, led me into the dressing room. I had called in advance and was told that I could talk to Big Mama any time for as long as I liked: she, however, hadn't been hipped to our scheduled appointment, leading me to think that she wasn't consulted about or notified of such decisions.

We were introduced face to back (my face, her back) as she tipped a quick gulp of Old Grand Dad. ("She drinks a lot of it, but holds it good, Wyler told me.) After a couple of lusty, biting comments, vaguely directed at me, she turned around and together we retired to the mellow (black-lighted, stained-glass windowed) lounge.

"The blues ain't never died for me," she retorted when asked if she had been affected by the recent insurgence of blues music. Irrespective of size of audience, Big Mama sings

the blues. Period. "I like all types of music,' she added, "but I'm a blues singer."

Do you listen to anyone in particular,I asked. "Don't listen to nobody right now. Me, I'm a TV fan. If there ain't a soap opera, there's alyways a good shoot-'em-up." When you're on tour, I continued, do you get a chance to do anything outside of giving concerts, like catching some other scenes or listening to artists you know who are in town? "Well,"she said absently, "I never featured myself running out of the building much."

In spite of the humiliating machinations Big Mama has been put through as a recording artist, she is known to be tough about doing a song her way. In 1953, Jerry Lieber and Mike Stoller, now veteran songwriters whose compositions have been recorded by such heavies as The Coasters and Elvis Presley, presented "Hound Dog" to Big Mama during a recording session. When they reputedly explained how the number should be done, she made it clear that she had a better idea than all of them how the number should be done, she made it clear that she had a better idea than all of them how to do it. I asked her how much she was able to make her own decisions. "They don't push me none," she said, "don't push me to do nothin' I don't want to do. Artists have to be completely free to do what they want. You can't mess with nobody that's creatin' or they'll lose their ability to perform."

Although Big Mam's performance of "Hound Dog" (for Peacock Records in Houston) was a very substantial hit (she says it sold over two million copies) and preceded Elvis's revised version by three years, she only received a total of $500 for doing it. There are in fact, a good many records produced for various labels (Galaxy, a division of Fantasy Records, among them) for which Big Mama has received little or nothing.

It is difficult to get her to talk at length about this, but her manager indicated that his brother (Miss Thornton's personal manager) has hired some good lawyers to try to reclaim some of the money due her. By the time Mr. Wyler's brother took over, Big Mama was thousands of dollars in debt. Wyler said that this debt is all but liquidated and added that Big Mama now has a good house and a '66 Pontiac.

It's not clear how the management transition occurred, but Big Mama has naturally become very distrustful of people in the business and it took a long time for a good working relationship to be established between herself and the Wylers.

"There's enough money to go around," Wyler claimed; he also implied that it was equitably distributed. If true, this is clearly the exception to the rule. And one wonders what "equitable" means when the Wylers are somehow finding the coin to establish a mini-empire for themselves while Big Mama, as Mr. Wyler told me, is only now in the process of buying clothes for herself.

"Big Mama doesn't see things politically." Wyler said in response to my question; "she's been shafted in so many ways that she can't be involved with causes; she worries about herself."

Under the capitalist system, the promoter and image-maker has the right to claim a disproportionate share of the profits for himself since, without him or another like him, even the best artists hasn't a successful leg to stand on.

The irony is that for a manager or promoter to be successful at his level, he must maximize his profits and undertake further commercial ventures in order to compete.

B.B. King, who has been playing beautiful blues on a shoestring for 20 years, now pulls $7500 for a two-night gig for himself and his promotion organization. To understand why the rate has gone up significantly even since the end of last year, one must, as an agent put it recently, "chart his career since then," when the market-oriented promoters began to reap the commercial benefits of a rapidly expanding blues audience.

The Wyler enterprises referred to earlier

include a partnership in radio station KPPC, an "underground" station in Pasadena that has been under this new management for about two years (once a church station, it's still located in a church basement) and, I believe, an interest in WBCN-FM, which is currently buying some radio stations in Los Angeles.

These stations, Wyler pointed out, are going to be pushing a lot of blues. Ron Wyler's brother is also involved with the Pointer Setter Publishing Company, located in Los Angeles and Vermont, which primarily handles country and western music, an emphasis adroitly in key with the 1968-69 country boom.

Furthermore -- as is becoming common among entrepreneurs in the business today, the Wylers, as part of Celler Theatre Productions -- have built their own recording studio, finished last year.

A key advantage of this kind of arrangement is that the artists under their jurisdiction can record and practice there "at no cost to them."

When I pointed out that a similar studio (connected with Trinity Distributors of Connecticut) had done some masters for Tiny Tim long before he became a commodity and then released them without payment to Tim after someone else had catapulted him to stardom, Wyler reported that their studio had also recorded Tiny Tim, but added that they didn't have the capital at that time to build him up.

Now that the Wyler enterprises appear to be getting off the ground, they are launching a big promotion campaign for Big Mama Thornton, of which the current tour is a part

At the Boston Tea Party for a week ("the only happening place in Massachusetts," one agent told me) before appearing at Ungano's, she will be at the Electric Circus . She will take in Chicago, Denver and San Diego before returning to Los Angeles.

A Mercury LP is timed to capitalize on the impact of the tour, expected to hit the stores in late May or early June A big publicity push will follow the release of the record, entitled "Stronger than Dirt "

The Arhoolie Record Company (Berkeley, Calif.) apparently still claims that Big Mama is under contract to them, but I cannot comment on this, not knowing what the actual contractual arrangements are. At any rate, the Mercury album, put together by Wyler's brother and produced by Al Smith (who also produces the Jefferson Airplane), is scheduled to include "Ball and Chain," "Sunshine of Your Love" (Cream's tune), "Born Under a Bad Sign" (Booker T's song, most ably recorded by Albert King for Stax) and others.

Big Mama wasn't sure what the complete contents would be, but observed that some of the cuts might be instrumentals. Another means of promotion currently being employed is television. Wyler said Big Mama was beginning to get spots on numerous TV shows, including that of Roosevelt "Rosie" Greer, the football ace-turned-campaigner who apprehended Sirhan Sirhan after the Robert Kennedy assassination last year.

Similar promotion campaigns are presently being waged for other little-heard blues artists by those who understand the possibilities for good return on their investments.

Slim Harpo and Lightnin' Slim, for example, both recording artists for Excello Records (Nashville), are touring again after years of slow gigs. Things were so bad musically for Lightnin' Slim after he was unable to collect $9000 owed him by the record company outlet in Crowley, La., that he all but abandoned his career to work in a factory and live in a small town outside of Detroit. Steve Paul, who reportedly bought Excello from Randy (of Randy's Record Shop and WLAC fame in Tennessee), is responsible for their tour and for the re-release of their old records, now packaged in misleading cheap psychedelic jackets.

Back to Ungano's After a lengthy rap, Mr. Wyler and I sat down near the bandstand to hear Big Mama and troupe perform for the handful of listeners present The sublety and power of Big Mama's voice impressed me even more than I thought it could Her phrasing and overall delivery are natural and relaxed, yet wrought

with tension and a sense of urgency. She has lost a lot of weight since her European tour in 1966 and her dancing was full of force and grace. The fact that she was dressed in a bright afro blouse, gold felt beret, a colorful neck scarf and knee socks, fortified my feeling that she is the kind of individual who is clearly her own woman on stage Her presence was shattered only by her feeling of resentment toward her band, a group of young, white blues enthusiasts who, while able to turn out a respectable sound, just aren't Big Mama's band (her original band, called the Hound Dogs, do not yet share in the benefits of the blues revival, although Mr. Wyler indicated that he planned to get that group back together if possible). At one point, Big Mama turned on the group in frustration; it was evident that they too were restricted by the tension in the air. The performance continued, but Big Mama said later that she just couldn't get it together with them; conversely, the band felt that she often misled them by telling them to play in a different key from the one she sang in.

Big Mama demonstrated her self-taught versatility on harp and drums before closing out the set. Two other harpists added their fine contribution to the evening: sharing the bill was George Smith, also now of L.A , a very moving harmonica-man and vocalist, whose most recent side for World-Pacific is an LP called "Contributing to Little Water." He is currently cutting another LP with the Flying Dutchmen, being produced by Bob Thiele. A surprise visit by James Cotton provided the other harp contribution, indeed a heavy if somewhat gimmicky one.

There are, of course, many talented blues artists who came to the attention of a white promoter or (New Rock) performer belatedly or not at all, or who were deemed to have little moneymaking potential by those with the financial power to make hay. Just one case in point of the latter phenomenon is Little Miss Cornshucks, who recorded a dynamite album about eight years ago for a now discontinued line of Chess Records; Miss Cornshucks hasn't been heard from since. (Chess, established in the 1940's, is run by Phil and Leonard Chess, white middle class immigrants, who maintain such control over even their hottest artists that they were able to get both Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf to record total hype "psychedelic" albums at a time when the market for acid music was high.

It is one of the countless tragedies of American capitalism that the performers of the music (especially traditional blues and folk) that grew out of the injustices of the system have, in many cases, remained unheard because their talent was not considered marketable and/or they have found themselves deeply in debt because of exploitation and mismanagement by music industry sharks and by the nature of most recording contracts. Even the most equitable contract, like those some of the newer, more business-wise artists are landing, necessarily subjugates content to market value -- and the market itself is determined more by the impact of promotion and advertising on the docile consumer than by any other factor.

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[Editor's note: This story can be run in conjunction with the story about the People's Park on P. 5.]

WORK AND REVOLUTION: PART TWO

VOLUNTEER LABOR IN CUBA

by Allen Young

LIBERATION News Service

CIEGO DE AVILA, Cuba (LNS) -- The establishment press puts quotation marks around the word "volunteer" when they write about volunteer work in Cuba. The motivation behind those quotes is simple enough: the reader is supposed to think, "Aha, those Cubans don't really volunteer to do all that work--they're forced to do it." All the innuendo, however, is part of the big lie.

In Cuba, volunteer work is the backbone of the economy. Without it, the country might well collapse. It is one of the essential ingredients of productivity and economic progress,

and it is basic to the building of the new man, to the creation of new attitudes towards work and towards other people.

The vast majority of the Cuban people are actively involved in volunteer labor. This involvement is based on support for the regime, and, in varying degrees, to an understanding of the essential principles on which this work is based.

Volunteer labor in Cuba takes many forms, but in all cases this work is above and beyond the work which citizens are obliged to do for their regular jobs. While there are, of course, elaborate publicity campaigns to encourage people to participate in volunteer labor, there is no punishment or deprivation for those who choose to sit at home.

There is moral approbrium attached to not doing volunteer labor, but this psychological pressure is no different from that directed against, say, a roommate who refuses to do his share of cleaning up

The following are the main forms of volunteer work:

* on-the-job overtime with extra payment waived

* the "advanced worker" movement, in which workers commit themselves to working harder to produce more

* Saturday and Sunday one-day mobilizations, in which workers from offices and factories go out into the fields near the cities

* long-term mobilizations of a week or two or three, in which workers go from the city to more distant agricultural areas

* the school-in-the-countryside program, in which students and teachers leave their classrooms and take the educational process into the fields, attending classes part time and doing farmwork part time

* special youth brigades in which young men and women commit themselves to full-time work in the fields for six months or a year or more, with general education and military training often included

The volunteer work programs have an important effect on the consciousness of the people. It means they associate work not with individual improvement (promotion, higher salary, better living standard), but with the collective good of all Cuban people.

Volunteer work helps cut across lines which are created in most work situations--between manual and mental workers, between skilled specialists and clerks or secretaries,etc.

In the cane fields, everyone does the same work.

A similar process takes place in the militia, the volunteer people's armed guard which is stationed outside each work place.

Perhaps the most impressive example of the volunteer work and what it means inside Cuban communism is the Centennial Column, so named because it was founded in 1968, which marked the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle against Spanish rule in Cuba.

The young men and women who form the column are of mixed urban and rural backgrounds, but most share a common background of poverty and lack of direction.

Many come from broken homes. Most have had little formal education. All are prepared to do the back-breaking work of cutting sugar cane in order to contribute to the national good, and to have a chance to improve their lot through education and collective experience.

There were more than 100,000 applicants for the brigade, though only 60,000 were accepted. Some members don't stick it out: about 8,000 have dropped out. Anyone is free to leave, but a drop-out can't come back.

Discipline inside the brigade is strict and morale is high. There is no job in Cuba more important than cutting sugar cane--the members of the brigade are given considerable prestige, but they work very hard in the fields and just as hard at their studies. There isn't much time for play as such--though I did attend a rock dance hosted by one of the leading squadrons.

The brigade is organized in semi-military fashion; the brigade's production headquarters looks like an army war room. It's a very serious business.

In Cuba today, being free means working

hard to get a big job done--the job of creating wealth to counter years of oppression under U.S domination. The Cuban revolution is glorious, but the characteristics of glory are not the ones many of us are used to.

A Yippie leader once said that yippies are workers out on permanent strike. In Cuba, the good yippies are workers out in the volunteer work brigades, sweating and digging it.

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BACK FROM THE WAR.

by Lynn Franklin

LIBERATION News Service

NEW ORLEANS, La. (LNS) -- When Johnny comes marching home from Vietnam it may be only months before he's marched right back again--and that's one reason for the mixture of anguish and joy in the faces of his anxious loved ones.

Another reason may be the particular exuberance of self-appointed reception committees on hand to greet him.

When Military Construction Battalions (MCBs) disembark at Gulfport, Miss., after ten-month tours of duty in Vietnam, they are greeted not by "Anchors Aweigh," sometimes Navy protocol for such occasions, but by "Dixie," that good old Southern rouser.

Some black sailors step off the Air Force c-141 which lifted them out of battle-infested Danang only 22 hours ago, to the tune of "Dixie," a song they have learned to hate.

Heavy Equipment Operator 2nd Class Robert L. Davis, a 22-year-old black man, who was guidon bearer for A Company, MCB 128, stepped carefully aside a red carpet unrolled in front of the gangway by Gulfport's Citizen Reception Committee, gingerly avoided hearty backslaps and rousing handshakes, curtly nodded to such remarks as "Glad to see ya, boy!" and "Mighty fine," and "There ain't gonna be no draft card burners here, I guarantee ya!"

As the long line of sailors in khaki green twill telescoped together, Davis shuffled forward toward customs.

Gulfport matrons serving doughnuts and coffee to the returning youngsters--the average age is close to 20 -- squealed delightedly when their band struck up "Dixie." They sat down their trays to sing and dance, clap and cheer. However, when the band failed to repeat the refrain, the ladies "Look Awayyyyss" were left floating in silence.

Said Davis, waiting for his first US furlough in ten months, "I guess I'd forgotten what it's like over here...Maybe I'm not so glad to be back."

MCB units arrive at Gulfport approximately every three weeks. They train for six months, and then return for another ten-month tour in Vietnam.

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THE GOLDEN SPIKE: AN ANNIVERSARY

by Michael Nolan

LIBERATION News Service

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) -- One hundred years ago, in May 1869, the legendary golden spike that linked East and West by rail was driven in with ceremonies at Promontory, Utah.

Tales of energetic Chinese and Irish workers led by enterprising industrialists are part of our grade school heritage. But chickens are coming home to roost as the truth of that historical period becomes better known.

For five years without pause (from 1864-1869) 3,000 Irishmen and 10,000 Chinese coolies toiled away through desert heat and mountain cold and snow. The Chinese worked for a dollar a day, about half the wages of white men, and were ready to give their lives for their pay. It was upon their backs that America was to fulfill her Manifest Destiny to "Win the West."

The linking of the central Pacific with the Union Pacific represented the heart and soul of the national industrial plan.

But the Horatio Algers of that period couldn't quite make it without heavy government subsidy. For at least ten years before 1862 the railroads were "land companies" which

acquired their principal raw material through outright government grants in return for their promise to build.

Congress gave away 148,293,000 acres--with the coal, copper, oil, gold and silver under the soil, and the timber and stone on top.

In addition to making land grants, the federal government promised to pay in bonds for work in progress, at a rate running from $16,000 over plains to $48,000 for construction in the mountains. Federal experts estimated afterward that the reckless haste of construction caused a waste of 75 per cent.

A crowd of millionaires emerged from this transcontinental adventure -- Gould, Fisk and Vanderbilt in the East, and Huntington, Crocker and Stanford in the West. Together with this wealthy power would grow the fortunes of Rockefeller in oil and Carnegie in steel.

Now, a century later, Government officials, railroad executives and rail buffs will be on hand in Promontory, Utah, to initiate the centennial celebration of the transcontinental. Of course, they won't refer to the exploitation and instead will revel in the glories of the bygone days of railroad building.

Some Chinese-Americans aren't in such a festive mood. They're taking the occasion to ask the Southern Pacific (successor to the Central Pacific) for $300,000 to help educate Chinese-Americans as payment for the "slave labor" employed by the "robber barons" to build the railroad.

Some American Indians are asking the Southern Pacific for unspecified sums as payment for the Indians who were killed while trying to protect their tribal lands against the railroad.

San Francisco's Human Rights Commission has backed both groups in their claims. But, D.J. Russell, Southern Pacific chairman, has rejected both requests. He says the railroad "gave this California Chinese community its first real economic break" when it hired the Chinese laborers. And he says it was the Union Pacific and the U.S. Army that had all the trouble with the Indians.

The 19th century Chinese took some action against the railroad, however. When Leland Stanford (president of the Central Pacific and later Governor of California) and his party were on their way to Promontory for the "golden spike" ceremony, some Chinese workers pushed a 50-foot log down to obstruct the track near Truckee, Calif.

And now, in 1969, even his class progeny turn against Leland's legacy, for the sons and daughters of the corporate elite have occupied the university buildings he constructed on his "farm" in Palo Alto.

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PEACE GROUP FILES STOLEN

NEW YORK (LNS) -- The mailing list of the War Resisters League -- 10,000 names and addresses -- was stolen May 9 when the group's offices at 5 Beekman St. were ransacked. Morris Cakars, WRL staff member, urged other movement groups to adopt simple security measures--such as good locks on doors and duplicate mailing lists (revised frequently and stored in a safe outside location). People who want to be on the WRL mailing list should write to their new office, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY. 10012.

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SEX SCANDAL

JOHANNESBURG (LNS)-- The South African Immorality Act, which forbids sex between whites and blacks, is creating a stir.

Clergymen, politicans and sociologists have criticized the law and the police methods used to enforce it, according to a New York Times Report.

Even one expert who supports the apartheid policies of the government was critical. L.C. Swanepole, a senior lecturer in psychology and criminology at the University of South Africa suggested that "those involved in interracial sexual relationships should be dealt with like alcoholics--in clinics, because they were obviously victims of psychological disturbance."

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SERVE THE PEOPLE: THE BLACK PANTHERS

by C. Clark Kissinger/Guardian

LIBERATION News Service

CHICAGO (LNS) -- When the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense made its debut in Oakland two years ago, its military organization and ministerial titles were taken by many left intellectuals as a kind of pompous nationalism a la Marcus Garvey who used to march through Harlem with his uniformed nurse corps and air force (sans aircraft).

Even after a series of violent shootouts with Bay Area cops, the Presidential campaign of Eldridge Cleaver and the extensive publication of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and Cleaver, intellectual radicals found it difficult to grasp that the Black Panthers were not just a passing phenomenon, but a permanent, serious attempt to organize a revolutionary party to serve and protect the black community and in coalition with other groupings to overthrow capitalism by force if necessary.

This failure to assess the true significance of the Panthers stems largely from the media's portrayal -- including the radical press -- of the Panthers as a series of shootouts, charismatic leaders and rallies with lots of shouting "right on!" Little or no attention has been given to the more significant mass work, ideological education and careful building of a revolutionary party structure. Only by studying the party at the local level can this be seen.

ILLINOIS PANTHERS FOUNDED

The Illinois Black Panther party was founded in June 1968 by four local black revolutionaries -- Jewel Cook, Bobby Rush, Fred Hampton and Billy Brooks. Hampton, who was to become the local chairman, had spent two summers leading militant demonstrations in the Chicago suburb of Maywood, and had a long list of prosecutions pending against him. Rush, who became the local defense minister, went to California to establish contact with the national office. In October, the rapidly expanding Illinois cadre was recognized by the national party, and a state party office was opened November 1.

The Illinois party set out at once to implement the national party's analysis and program: America is imperialist and racist; the black community is an internal colony; the revolutionary struggle of the black colony will be the vanguard of the class struggle; and struggle requires the leadership of an armed revolutionary party.

Newton's conception of the party was two-fold. First that it was highly disciplined and practiced democratic centralism. Second that the party as a whole was to engage in exemplary action. The black community in general would learn by observing the actions of the party in the community, it was reasoned and everything the party did was educational. By leading and serving real needs of people, the community as a whole would become revolutionary. Such conceptions are hardly novel to revolutionary theory. What was strikingly new in the American context was that the party actually began to do it.

Applying the doctrine of Chairman Mao that every enemy of my enemy is my friend, the Illinois party sought to build working coalitions with a number of black street gangs. But a number of these groups were more into shaking down the community and Washington's Office of Economic Opportunity than into revolution. Eventually coalitions were built with the Black Disciples and the Congress Lords. A large number of Panthers were also recruited from the Black Student Associations in the Chicago high schools and junior colleges.

The Illinois leadership is the first to admit it made mistakes at the inception, chief among these being, "We were racist." At one point, the whole central staff sat down for two weeks of study and reevaluation. In their eventual formulation of a class analysis they were assisted by two factors: first, the presence of Raymon "Masai" Hewitt from the national staff, and second, their practical experience with the Young Patriots. The Patriots are a group of revolutionary young

white Southerners in Chicago's Uptown community. They were berets with a "Free Huey" button on one side and a confederate flag on the other, and many are veterans of the now-dissolved JOIN Community Union. It was the reports from section leader Bob Lee on the Patriots that made real to many Panthers the idea of a working coalition with working-class whites.

Today, the Illinois party has formal coalitions with both the Young Lords Organization (Puerto Rican) and the Patriots. The Panthers stress the coalition with the Patriots is not just symbolic. "We don't engage in symbolic activity." Rather, the Panthers believe that groups like the Patriots can "by-pass the racist hangup" of white Americans and deliver the revolutionary message to whites who would not listen to a black revolutionary.

The Panthers push their multiracial class analysis aggressively, even though, as they freely admit, it doesn't help them in the black community to have whites coming to their office. But as they point out, you don't fight fire with fire and you do fight racism with class solidarity. The Panthers will stand behind their coalition partners. "The next time the pigs kill some chicano brothers, they're going to have to kill some Panthers."

In a synthesis of the Cuban and Chinese experience the Panthers are neither a political party with a subordinate military arm nor a partyless military foco. Rather the Panthers are simultaneously a military and political organization with leaders holding both military and political ranks. Section leaders are sergeants and subsection leaders are corporals. Branches are directed by captains and lieutenants. The state central staff -- deputy ministers and field secretaries -- are majors. Some officers are field (or line) officers; others are operations officers.

The requirements of individual party members are demanding. Each member must (1) attend three two-hour political orientation classes a week, (2) read two hours a day to keep abreast of current developments, (3) sell at least 75 Panther newspapers a week (many members sell 400 a week), (4) own and be proficient in the use of two guns, (5) obey all party rules, and (6) do constant political work among the masses Party members who do not fulfill these requirements are expelled. Chairman Fred Hampton is merciless in his castigation of party members who are good "rally Panthers" but who don't attend political classes or do mass work. Members of the party have also been expelled for speaking in the name of the party without authorization

THE PANTHER PROGRAM

The principal political programs of the Illinois party are the free breakfast program, free health clinics, the liberation of the schools and a community police patrol. But the party is careful to project the programs in the order in which the community will accept them. Thus, the breakfast program is well under way and the health clinics are next, since "everybody eats and everybody gets sick." Programs which are possibly confrontational like the police patrol are delayed until a mass base is developed to guarantee success. "We move people at the level they can go. We don't intend to skip any stages." Like the guerrilla who carefully stages his battles so as to win every one, so the Panthers stage their political programs. The police patrol will begin "only when the community is armed and a gun sticks out of every window every time the pigs stop someone in the community."

The breakfast program, begun April 1, is now feeding well over 500 children a morning at three locations in Chicago. The program is directed by a 20-year-old woman named Barbara Sankey, who grew up on Chicago's West Side and was first attracted to the Panthers by Newton's trial She and other Panthers have done a remarkable job of assembling the needed resources. Since there is no money, most food is donated. One meat company gives 50 pounds of sausages a week. The Joe Louis Milk Co gives 500 cartons of milk each week. A typical breakfast menu consists of milk,

sausage or bacon, scrambled eggs and toast. There is cold cereal on Wednesday and pancakes and syrup on Friday.

So far, the party has moved slowly on political work with children and parents. While it is made clear to the children who is feeding them, they have not yet been exposed to Panther songs or propaganda talks.

MILITARY TRAINING

As deputy minister of defense in Illinois, Bobby Rush is responsible for the military training of the membership, the defense of the community and the security of the office.

Security is pretty impressive. After being buzzed in through the heavy street level door, the visitor looks up a long narrow stairwell into two large blinding flood lights. Half-way up the stairs is a heavy wire mesh gate. Suspicious persons are searched before being admitted to the inner office. Outside windows are covered with heavy plywood, and two large dogs are tethered on the roof of the building. An "outside man" watches things out on the street.

Daily security is under supervision of an officer of the day (OD) 24 hours a day. No loitering is permitted in the office; one is either there on business or escorted out. And in contrast to most "movement" offices, the Panther office is neat and clean. Trash is emptied and floors are mopped. The walls are decorated with newspaper clippings and Chinese posters.

The military program of the party is disciplined and not adventuristic. "We are not reactionaries. We don't react to situations, we create them," says Rush. Rush constantly speaks about the need to ignore police provocations and avoid aimless street fighting and premature confrontation. "Any battles we enter we're going to win."

Rush also defends the very public posture of his avowedly revolutionary organization. "We are not a so-called underground organization, organizing ground hogs. How can you be the vanguard of the people if the people can't even find you?"

The internal education program is directed by Billy "Che" Brooks. Born in Mississippi 20 years ago, he grew up on Chicago's West Side and was a member of the Black Liberators before he joined the party. "Education is the backbone of the party," says Che. At present, he directs an educational cadre of about 15. The cadres educate section leaders throughout the state, who in turn are responsible for the education of the membership.

The basic reading lists consists of 12 books: "Quotations from Mao Tse-tung," "Essays from the Minister of Defense (Huey P. Newton)," "The Wretched of the Earth," "Selected Military Writings of Mao-Tse-tung," "State and Revolution," "On Practice (Mao)," "The Communist Manifesto," "Autobiography of Malcolm X," "Malcolm X Speaks," "The Last Year of Malcolm X (George Breitman)," "Long Live the Victory of People's War (Lin Piao)," and "Red Star over China." Every party member is required to purchase some of the works, but only the educational cadre go through every one in detail.

Discussing the problem of education, minister Che said, "The majority of new members come in here for one reason -- to kill. Our job is to educate them to the correct methods of political struggle." To stress education and put new members in their place, the introductory classes are taught by a chubby 14-year-old boy whom everyone calls, "Little Mao." Little Mao can rip off the 10-point Panther program and the 26 rules faster then most people can read. He tells new recruits that they will learn the program by heart before they leave or he will kick their ass.

Education is stressed from the word go New recruits line up before the "recruiting sergeant" in the outer office. He gives them an application form to fill out, asks them if they now own a gun, and begins to tell them how each party member must read for two hours a day. The party isn't interested in people who are unwilling to learn.

The deputy minister of information is Rufus "Chaka" Walls. Now 28, Chaka spent five

years in the Army and then worked for CORE. He is a student at Malcolm X Community College (formerly the Crane Campus of the Chicago City College), where he is chairman of the Black Student Association. Chaka, with a staff of about 20, handles the distribution of the Black Panther newspaper, the production of the state Panther newsletter, leaflets, press conferences and speaking engagements. The party sells 8000 papers a week in Illinois at 25¢ a copy and expects to boost that to 15,000 in a few months. All this requires a carefully worked-out distribution system.

Ronald "Doc" Satchel is the deputy minister of health. Doc, who is only 18 and a dropout from the University of Illinois, has full responsibility for a two-part medical program. First he is training a medical cadre of about 10 in daily classes. The group includes a nurse and ex-Army medical corpsmen. They are expected to handle all emergency medical needs of the party. The second phase is theprojected opening of a free health clinic. According to Doc, the only hangup is getting enough doctors to volunteer time to staff the clinic on a reasonable basis. Drugs and other supplies have already been donated. In the interim the medical cadre is publishing a propaganda newsletter on problems of medical care, for use in the community.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Although one sister in California recently wrote in the Black Panther newspaper that she and other women in the party were tired of being "Pantherettes" or "desk Panthers" in the office, women's liberation is not perceived as a problem in the Illinois party. There are a number of women in responsible positions on the central staff, and there is a woman section leader, a woman field secretary and a woman on the security staff. About 15% of the party membership in Illinois are women.

Ann Campbell is the communications secretary With a staff of three, she handles all communications between the office and the sections, as well as reports to the national office. Along with handling the daily mail, she acts as kind of an office manager.

Until recently, Yvonne King was deputy minister of labor. This position has been temporarily abolished and she is currently a field secretary. In her early 20's, Miss King came to Chicago very recently and joined the party. While the labor ministry was functioning it attempted to aid several strike actions by giving technical assistance and advice. The party hopes to reconstitute the labor ministry if and when resources become available to do a successful job, but right now the party does not consider the organization of black workers in the workplace as a priority program.

The Illinois Panthers in the last six months have faced more than 60 criminal prosecutions with total bail in excess of $200,000.

The Illinois party continues to grow and its membership is now "well in excess of 1000" -- that is, well in excess of 2000 guns.

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LETTERS FROM FORT DIX

WRIGHTSTOWN, N.J. (LNS) -- "If somebody could get in there on a normal day, without the Army knowing about it, they would really see some things happening."

That was the reaction of a private at Fort Dix to the recent press tour of the Fort's stockade. The private, who was recently released after having spent two months behind the barbed wire fence of the stockade, said:

"The prisoners were unable to speak to any of the reporters. We were told to get into our cell blocks and to stay away from the windows. We wanted to really let people know how we felt in here.

"Like we had steak on this one day, and we never had steak before, and I was in there for two months ..

"Afterwards, in the library, they would make sure that all the articles in the newspaper about the open house were cut out.

"The stockade is way overcrowded; the day before the open house they let out 100 guys, getting prepared for the reporters to come."

THE "CAMPUS CRISIS"
EXPECTATION OF RISING REVOLUTION
by Mark Feinstein
LIBERATION News Service

[The crackdown on student militants, particularly blacks and Puerto Ricans, is beginning. On May 13, in New York, twenty Brooklyn College students were arrested, charged with conspiracy in the firebombings and violence which hit that campus in the past few weeks. The District Attorney who made the indictments charged that the Brooklyn students were following a "plan of rebellion" laid out by people at San Francisco State.

Warrants are out for black, Puerto Rican and white radicals who occupied the City College of New York campus for two weeks until a court injunction forced them to leave.

Twenty black students at Howard University were arrested for demanding that the school's resources serve the black community. The national guard was called out to crush black students at Southern University in New Orleans. A black student was shot at Moorhead State in Minnesota.

The mass media's campaign to pawn the movement off as aimless adolescent rebellion, or the work of fiendish outside revolutionists is not working fast enough to keep the real message from coming across: that black, Puerto Rican and white students, despite arrests and brutality, are determined to make the universities relevant to the community's needs and to their vision of an anti-racist society.]

* * *

American mythology has long heralded the tuition-free public university as a fulfillment of the "revolution of rising expectations."

For every young American who begins to have the feeling that he is powerless to run his own life in the face of a meaningless job, a run-down community, the Armed Forces, or his lack of money, society has ready the dream of a university education. Going through college -- without paying the huge tuitions demanded of the sons of the rich, who will really rule some day as an elite class -- means having access to all the promise of America: a suburban home, a color television, a car, a "good" school for the kids. People expect things of the university: if you can just get there, some day, you'll have it made.

America's poor people -- black, Latin and white -- have been told that same story for a long time. But there's a hitch to the story now: it has run smack up against a facet of the "uneven development" of American corporate capitalism. The system today is not yet ready to meet the expectations of the poor, while the poor are ready for the long-awaited pay-off on the dream of the University.

As a conservative teacher at San Francisco State put it, if America can't finally answer the revolution of rising expectations, it will have to contend with the expectation of rising revolution. If the wave of violent conflict involving blacks and Puerto Ricans at publicly supported, "non-elite" schools is any indication, America should be prepared for revolution.

* * *

The American university was once the refuge of a closed elite only -- the upper bourgeoisie, the idle rich, the dilettante intellectual. It was a place to spend time before taking over the reins of power. For the rest of society, the high school was the highest goal; very few actually made it even there. Most people finished six years of grammar school and entered the labor market -- that is, if they were lucky enough not to have started in child labor long before that.

Gradually, as industry developed and became more complex, and the need for trained skilled people increased, more people had to be put through school for a longer time. A huge pool of lower and lower middle class young people became available. Child labor was outlawed. Aside from whatever moral forces were brought to bear, five-year olds were no longer needed in the factories. They could

be kept in school for a while until industry needed them.

As for the black people, the lowest of the lower classes, still largely rural, this was not an issue. Their children were still needed in the fields and few of them even got near schools which would provide them with socially "useful" skills.

As capitalism plunged into the Depression years, any education at all remained a luxury. With jobs unavailable, young lower and middle class urban whites stayed in school through high school. Society had no other place to put them. Black children remained unschooled and tied to the rural south, but, as the Thirties wore on, with jobs unavailable even on the land, more and more of them migrated to Northern cities.

The Second World War, and the huge industrial boom which accompanied and followed it, opened up vast new labor markets. Large numbers of unskilled jobs became available. At the same time, the fantastic growth of technology after the war required trained technicians.

The socio-industrial scheme was ready for these developments. The blacks and later the Puerto Ricans who had had so little schooling were admirably suited to do the unskilled labor. And the whites, who had finished high school, could fill the bill for skilled labor.

Since economic progress never stands still in America, industry in the Fifties and early Sixties began to require more and more training of its workers -- even the unskilled. So the poor went to high school where many of them were trained in rudimentary skills. But industry also needed highly skilled technicians and administrators with even more training. The old university elite was not the place to find middle-level bureaucrats with limited ambitions. So, a new group, privileged though not an elite -- the middle class university students -- filled the gap.

The situation was ideal: the revolution of rising expectations had always kept the fire of "going to college" burning in the breast of middle class America. So in increasing millions, young White Americans ended up in tuition-free state and city universities.

The fact that the schools were free, and now open to whole new segments of the population, gave added credibility to the notion of the non-elite university. Local politicos fought to keep tuition fees to bare minimums. The public schools expanded in population and facilities. The rising expectations of the middle class were more or less fulfilled.

But the constant growing need to consume, the onslaught of advertising, the emphasis on success, and the grade-school philosophy of "Even little Johnny (who's black) can become President," continued to simmer within the lower classes. Like other lower-class generations before them, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and poor whites wanted "in" -- that is, "up."

And like those previous generations, present-day America's poor might well have patiently awaited their turn for a chance at the general wealth. But the opulence of today's society, the enormous burden of America's imperialist activities in Vietnam and elsewhere, white racism, and the deteriorating social conditions of poor people today are forcing them to realize that their society instilled dreams are going to be denied them unless they act on their own.

In short, American capitalist technocracy has reached, unfortunately for it, a knotty contradiction: It has at its disposal a huge supply of low-level labor -- the poor blacks and Puerto Ricans. It has a constant source of bureaucrats and technocrats -- middle class university-trained whites.

But, the rub is that, in order to get those whites into the university, America had to sow across the land the dream of "making it" -- and while the dream worked on the poor.

And unhappily for the American system, it simply doesn't need, at the moment, more technocrats that the white middle class can already supply.

Why, however, in the interest of liberalism, don't the corporations just "integrate" the technocratic job field, since black and Puerto Rican young men and women could do the job as well as anyone else?

For one thing, some blacks and Puerto Ricans, as they fight the system, are learning that even so-called good jobs inside the system are repressive and self-destructive. For another, giving them jobs would necessarily force some whites out of the job market. Blacks and Puerto Ricans are already angry and militant; by denying whites jobs for which they have been trained (even if those jobs are self-destructive), the corporations would be leaving themselves open to a new crop of radicals. True, the whites might "backlash" against the blacks and Puerto Ricans who took away their "careers." But if white radicals do their job well enough, they can counteract this racism by helping those whites understand the nature of corporate jobs.

Things have worked out so well for corporate America that its undoing may lie in its very success. Of course, the American system is world-famous for being able to cope with problems like this. If black and Puerto Rican radical students continue to press hard enough and militantly enough, the ruling class may have to accommodate them.

They may very well win, with the support of white radicals, an open admission policy at the City University of New York. The "non-elite" privileged school would be broken wide open. Would that mean simply the fulfillment of the American dream for blacks and Puerto Ricans? Would America be exonerated?

Probably not. The radicals have taken their stand against the universities because they see clearly how they have been and are being used by America. They see how they are being deceived. And the poor communities which are beginning to take to the streets to support the students also see how they have been deceived.

The one demand which is almost universal in black and Puerto Rican student uprisings is the demand for Black and Latin studies programs and separate schools. The radicals want the people to control those schools; with that control, they will be able to use the university to serve the community -- by letting the community learn how to take power over their own lives, letting them consolidate themselves as a people, in effect, freeing themselves.

The system and its universities may well be amenable to fulfilling the demand structurally. Separate Black studies programs might be set up. But the ruling class is not at all ready to let the people take over; the vast machine of repression is already moving against the radicals who are the very ones who see the need for control by the people. If the student movement - those who want to see a radical content in Black and Latin studies programs - is wiped out, along with community people like the Panthers who understand what is going on, then any concessions the ruling class might make would be empty ones.

So long as the black and Puerto Rican students and their white allies hold out and fight back, demanding power to the people, the so-called "revolution" of rising expectations will have been shown up for the manipulation that it is. And we can expect a genuine revolution in its place.

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WRONG ACCENT

ST. LOUIS (LNS) -- Monosodium glutanate, also known as MSG and sold commercially as ACCENT, may screw up your head. According to a study made by Dr. John W. Olney, assistant professor of psychiatry at the Washington University School of Medicine, MSG has a deleterious effect on the brains of mice. He warned pregnant women, at least, to lay off the stuff.

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The principle underlying capitalistic society and the principle of love are incompatible.

Erich Fromm

RAID ON SDS NATIONAL OFFICE

by Mark Kramer

LIBERATION News Service

CHICAGO (LNS) -- Five members of SDS, including National Secretary Mike Klonsky, were busted in an early morning raid on the National Office by cops and the fire department. The five were arrested on charges which grew out of a "visit" to the office by police and fire officials.

When the cops first showed up, banging on the door leading up to the second floor offices, the five went downstairs to investigate. Police said they wanted to come in, and that they were responding to a complaint by a Mr. Brown. (The next day, in court, they told the judge they were responding to a phone tip that someone had been shot in the hall. But they didn't mention that during their visit.) When Klonsky said there was no Mr. Brown there, nor any Does, Smiths, or Joneses, the pigs split.

Less than a minute later the fire department showed up, claiming that they had received a report of a fire in the building. They were told that there were at least 20 people at work throughout the building, and that there was no fire. They demanded to come in and investigate anyway.

When they were refused entrance, the pigs who accompanied the firemen chopped down the front door, hassled the five men protecting the office and then busted them. The authorities then lost interest in checking for a fire in the building, which was never inspected.

In addition to Klonsky, those arrested were Ed Jennings, Chicago regional SDS organizer; Tim McCarthy, of the National Office (NO) printshop staff; Les Coleman, staff member at the NO, and David Slavin, a member of the New York regional SDS staff.

After the five had been held for 12 hours sympathetic groups in the area succeeded in raising $1,250 cash to meet the $12,500 total bail.

The five were charged with various misdemeanors about interfering with cops and firemen. In addition, an old arrest warrant, unserved since it was signed by a red-squadder at convention time last August, was laid on Jennings. The charge, of inciting a mob, accounted for $5,000 of the bail.

There is little doubt that the raid on the SDS office was a set-up, despite pig claims of phoned-in complaints of fire and murder. Friends of SDS in the neighborhood said the next day that fire trucks, patrol cars and paddy wagons were assembling near the NO, at 1608 West Madison Street, for some time before the action began.

The raid took place the night following an appearance by Mike Klonsky on the TV show "Face the Nation." During the interview, Klonsky stated: "We got word yesterday from a very well informed source around the Justice Department that this fool, Mitchell, Attorney General Mitchell, is planning within the next ten days the 1969 version of the Palmer raids, that he has got it all mapped out, in over 50 cities in the United States, trying to pick off so-called leadership, see, get them in jail, get them out of the way." No sooner did he get back to the office, than he became a part of his own prediction.

In an interview following an SDS press conference in New York, former columbia SDS leader Mark Rudd said, "It's clear that this bust happened because of the 'Face the Nation' show that afternoon. It never happened before--the pigs were never at the office before--in the four of five years the NO has been in Chicago."

In referring to the Palmer Raids, Klonsky was stressing that massive political repression is not new in American history. Between 1919 and 1921, there were massive one-night sweeps, busting those involved in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), various factions of the Socialist Party and some labor leaders. During the one month of January, 1920, there were 2,500 arrests. Before the seige ended, over 5,000 aliens were deported because of their political activity.

The arrests in the National Office must be seen as part of an increasing repression levelled not only against vanguard black revolutionary groups, especially the Panthers, but also against the student left. In keeping with the quiet "who, me?" style of the Nixon establishment, the repression is not taking the form of massive sweeps, but rather,

by nationally inspired but locally planned police actions, levelled against local organizers.

The repression is accompanied by seeming compromises and appeasements (such as the abolition of ROTC on some campuses) designed to silence liberal opposition. The tactic is similar to that followed by Nixon on the Vietnam peace talks. The war gets dirtier, but the hope of progress in the talks keeps the liberals relatively quiet.

Commenting on being busted, Dave Slavin said: "The arrests which took place were a political attack on the NO, set up by the Chicago police. It must be seen in a national perspective. There's a Grand Jury meeting in Queens to investigate student activists. In Brooklyn, 20 indictments have just been handed down. At Cornell, students face imminent arrest for defending themselves.

"At Kent State, 15 have been busted on felonies, and dozens of others on trespass, and the entire SDS chapter has been thrown out of school and enjoined from coming on campus. Margie Haile, who was busted on conspiracy charges while visiting the University of Houston, is another victim.

"When you put these all together, the national pattern of political repression becomes clear. But all this time, the real conspirators aren't the students at all, but those planning the nationwide attack on students.

"However, we know very well that political repression causes an even stronger response from the people, from those who are pushed down."

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HONEST REPORTER FIRED

MADISON, Wisc. (LNS) -- A reporter for the Capital Times, the liberal establishment daily in Madison, was fired immediately after the publication of his blistering attack on the newspaper's coverage of local affairs. The attack appeared in the May 10 edition of the Daily Cardinal, the campus newspaper.

The reporter, Dennis D. Sandage, told how the Capital Times repressed his coverage of connections between Chief of Police Wilbur Emery and the John Birch Society, as well as other unsavory facts about the Wisconsin police-political establishment. -30-

STONY BROOK RAIDED:
STUDENTS BATTLE COPS

STONY BROOK, N.Y. (LNS) -- A drug raid by cops at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York sparked a militant reaction from thousands of students.

Sixteen people were busted inside their rooms at 1 a.m. on May 13. Immediately, a group of 400 students formed on the quadrangle to prevent the cops from making off with their victims.

The 400 were soon joined by hundreds more. They spread out across the campus, shattering windows, overturning and burning police cars, and hurling rocks at cops.

The students had been ready for the raid on two accounts--similar raids had occured at neighboring schools a week before, and many students claimed that the bust had been planned to coincide with the state Joint Legislative Committee on Crime, which announced it would hold hearings on campus drug use, May 14 and 15.

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RACISM IS SICKNESS

MIAMI BEACH (LNS) -- A group of black psychiatrists described white racism as "the major mental health problem in this country," and told the American Psychiatric Association to take action on the problem. The black doctors presented 10 demands to the all-white leadership of the association, urging that black psychiatrists be given a greater voice in the group. They also charged that white psychiatrists practiced segregation by charing impossibly high fees to black patients.

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"The country is run by business. There are haves, and they want to keep what they've got. The changes that are going on directly threaten their hold on things, so they hold on harder. That's exactly the way it is in the television industry. The haves, like CBS, aren't letting go of anything." Tommy Smothers, of the Brothers

YOUNG LORD MURDERED

CHICAGO (LNS) -- Manuel Ramos, a member of Chicago's Young Lords Organization, was shot and killed by an off-duty cop on May 3. A comrade of Ramos, Raphael Rivera, was wounded in the incident.

The shooting took place at a birthday party attended by a group of Lords, a radical Latin youth organization. Shouting in the street drew a number of the partygoers to the door, from where they saw off-duty cop James Lamb waving a Luger. When asked to "take it easy" by one of the Lords, Lamb fired two shots, hitting Ramos in the head and wounding Rivera in the neck.

Uniformed cops were on the scene immediately, and with the help of Lamb they arrested four Lords on charges of aggravated assault and battery. They then threw Ramos and Rivera into a paddy wagon and drove them to a hospital, where Ramos died in the Emergency Room.

At the bail hearing for the four arrested Lords, the DA came up with the incredible claim that a cop had been shot and critically wounded in the incident. Bail was set at $3,000 each.

Police have thus far refused to take any action against Lamb, though ten people saw him murder Ramos.

On Monday, May 5, the Lords sponsored a memorial rally for Ramos. About 2000 people marched through Latin and white working class neighborhoods, protesting the killing.

The incident is only the latest in a series of police harassments of the Lords, who have been organizing Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cubans in Chicago around such issues such as welfare rights, local control of community planning boards, and Third World Unity.

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"If you and I don't awaken and see what this man is doing to us then it will be too late. They may have the gas ovens built and going before you realize that they're already hot."

MALCOLM X

CIVILIAN MACE IS BIG BUSINESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS) -- Last year, 250,000 cannisters of "Preventor 1" were sold by franchised dealers in 41 states. Preventor 1 is the brand name for "civilian Mace."

This disabling spray is one of several available to the general public in all but nine states. (Those prohibiting the sale or possession of aerosol chemical sprays are California, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Nevada, New York, Oregon and Wisconsin.)

Max Sadoff, the executive vice president of Defensive Industries, Inc. of Pittsburgh, said that Preventor 1 is not sold indiscriminately to anyone. He said cannisters must be registered under the names of the purchaser, who must also sign a pledge to use the spray only for defensive purposes.

Other brand names are The Deputy, Shield-1078, and Subdue.

According to an article in the New York Post, the use of Mace by both civilians and police has become a cause for official concern. The Food and Drug Administration has undertaken scientific studies showing that Mace can cause damage to the eyes. And Congress is about to investigate the need for federal legislation to keep the chemicals out of the hands of the general public. Maybe they're afraid someone will squirt the stuff back at a cop.

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IT'S ALL IN THE FAMILY

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS) -- Julie Nixon and David Eisenhower. Tricia Nixon and...who? Barry Goldwater, Jr.

Tricia has invited him to be her escort at her very own ball in the White House. Goldwater, who was recently elected to the House of Representatives from California, stated that he had seen Tricia at numerous political functions but that they had never dated. Nevertheless, Goldwater Jr. felt quite certain that he would have a real ball with Miss Nixon.

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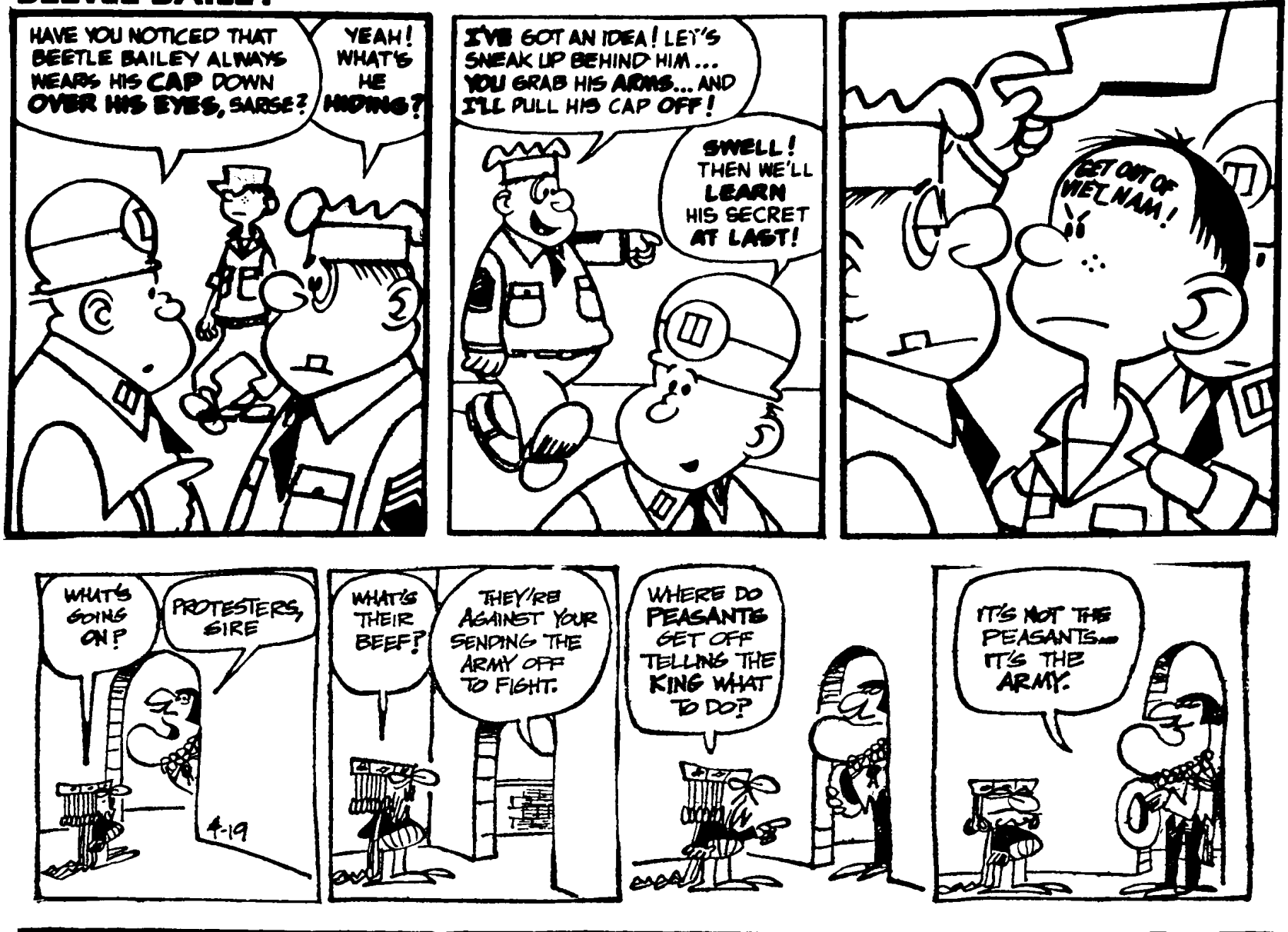
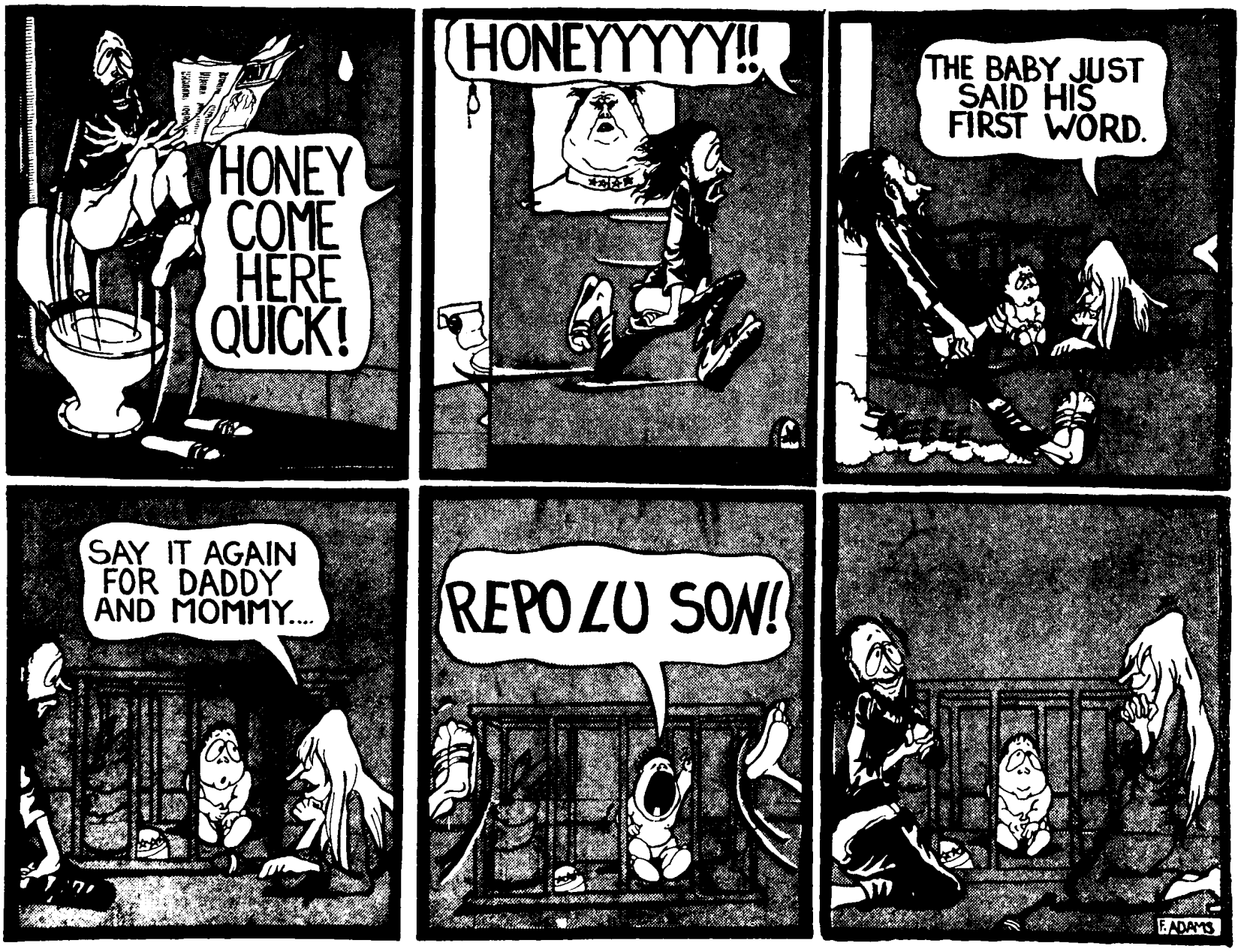
BEETLE BAILEY





CARTOONS: TOP (BEETLE BAILEY): Credit PROTEAN RADISH / LNS

MIDDLE (KING): Credit PROTEAN RADISH / LNS

BOTTOM: Credit S. Adams / PAT / LNS

Ten forty-three.
In exactly TWO MINUTES I'll ring the FIRST BELL and they'll all stand still!

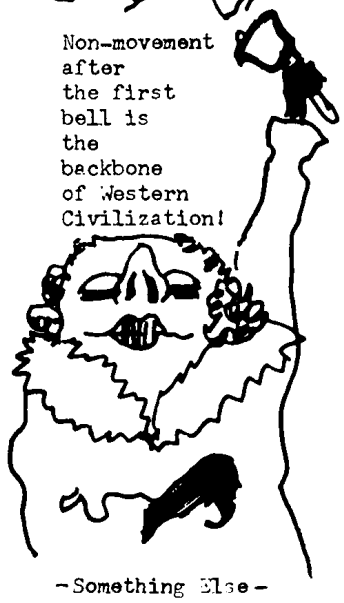
Because when they've learned not to question the FIRST BELL, they'll learn not to question their TEXTS! Their TEACHERS! Their COURSES! EXAMINATIONS!

All, that is, except your potential DEVIATE! Your fledgling REBEL! Your incipient BOAT-ROCKER! THEY'LL try to move all right! THEY'LL have to learn the HARD way not to move!

They'll grow up to accept TAXES! HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS! INSURANCE! WAR! MEN ON THE MOON! LIQUOR! LAWS! POLITICAL SPEECHES! PARKING METERS! TELEVISION! FUNERALS!

So I'll SCREAM at 'em and take their NAMES and give them FIVE DETENTIONS and EXTRA HOMEWORK! NEXT time they won't move after the first bell!

Non-movement after the first bell is the backbone of Western Civilization!



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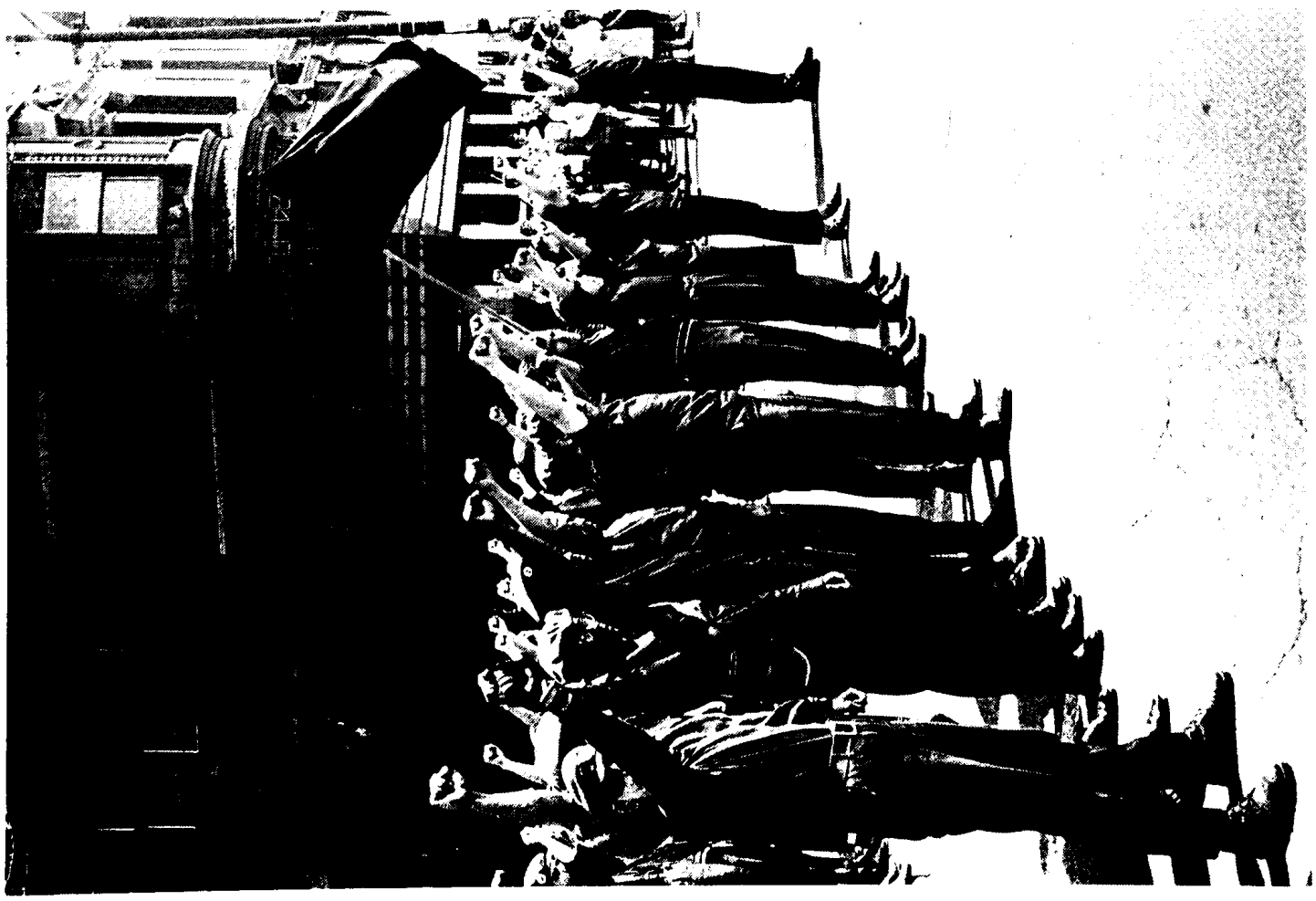


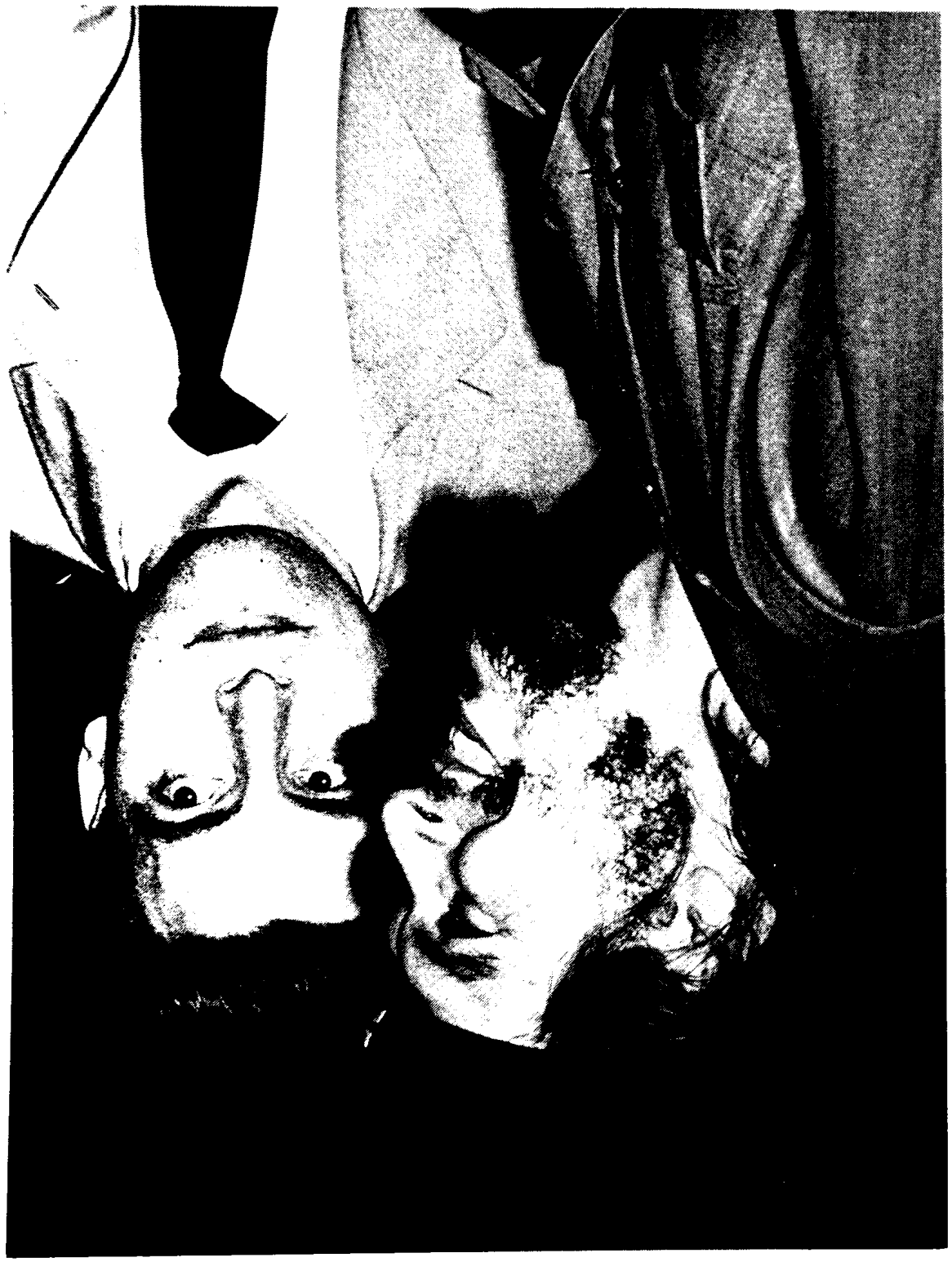
CARTOON: Teacher of today. Credit NEWS FROM NOWHERE / LNS

PHOTOGRAPH: Members of Chicago's Young Lords Organization (YLO) at funeral of Manuel Rubio murdered by a pig in Chicago on May 3. See story elsewhere in this packet. Please credit this photo / [illegible]

TOURIST SEASON

CARTOONS: Top: Espionage over North Korea. Please credit DAILY WORLD / LNS

Bottom: Please credit SAN DIEGO DOOR / LNS



PHOTOGRAPHS: TOP: Jorge Massetti, founder of Cuba's Prensa Latina news service, shown with Che Guevara. Prensa Latina is celebrating its 10th anniversary. Photo credit to PRENSA LATINA / LNS [See story on Page 3]

BOTTOM: The people make a park in Berkeley, California, and prepare to defend it. A community in action, communally, for the collective good See story on Page 5. Please credit Susan Goodrick / LNS